Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

L'Institut a microfilmé le meilleur exemplaire qu'il lui a été possible de se procurer. Les détails de cet exemplaire qui sont peut-être uniques du point de vue bibliographique, qui peuvent modifier une image reproduite, ou qui peuvent exiger une modification dans la méthode normale de filmage sont indiqués ci-dessous.

- [x] Coloured covers/ Couverture de couleur
- [ ] Covers damaged/ Couverture endommagée
- [ ] Covers restored and/or laminated/ Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- [ ] Cover title missing/ Le titre de couverture manque
- [ ] Coloured maps/ Cartes géographiques en couleur
- [ ] Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/ Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- [ ] Coloured plates and/or illustrations/ Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- [ ] Bound with other material/ Relié avec d'autres documents
- [ ] Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion along interior margin/ La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la distorsion le long de la marge intérieure
- [ ] Blank leaves added during restoration may appear within the text. Whenever possible, these have been omitted from filming/ Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte, mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont pas été filmées.
- [ ] Additional comments:/ Commentaires supplémentaires:

- [ ] Coloured pages/ Pages de couleur
- [ ] Pages damaged/ Pages endommagées
- [ ] Pages restored and/or laminated/ Pages restaurées et/ou pelliculées
- [x] Pages discoloured, stained or foxed/ Pages décolorées, tachetées ou piquées
- [ ] Pages detached/ Pages détachées
- [x] Showthrough/ Transparence
- [ ] Quality of print varies/ Qualité inégale de l'impression
- [ ] Continuous pagination/ Pagination continue
- [ ] Includes index(es)/ Comprend un (des) index

Title on header taken from:/ Le titre de l'en-tête provient:

- [ ] Title page of issue/ Page de titre de la livraison
- [ ] Caption of issue/ Titre de départ de la livraison
- [ ] Masthead/ Générique (périodiques) de la livraison

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	12X	14X	16X	18X	20X	22X	24X	26X	28X	30X	32X
						✓					

SPLENDID RECORD

OF THE

Borden Government

Remarkable achievements of the Conservative Administration during the past two years.

Statesmanlike speech of the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, at Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Naval Policy Clearly Defined

AS ONE OF

Co-operation, not of Contribution

"Through men not directly responsible to the electorate of Canada our proposals have been defeated for the moment and an increased burden has, for the present, been imposed and accepted beyond the seas. We have every confidence that this defeat is but temporary, and that the duty of Canada will yet be honorably discharged."—*From Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden's Halifax Speech*

SPLENDID RECORD

OF THE

Borden Government

Remarkable achievements of the Conservative Administration during the past two years.

Statesmanlike speech of the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, at Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Naval Policy Clearly Defined

AS ONE OF

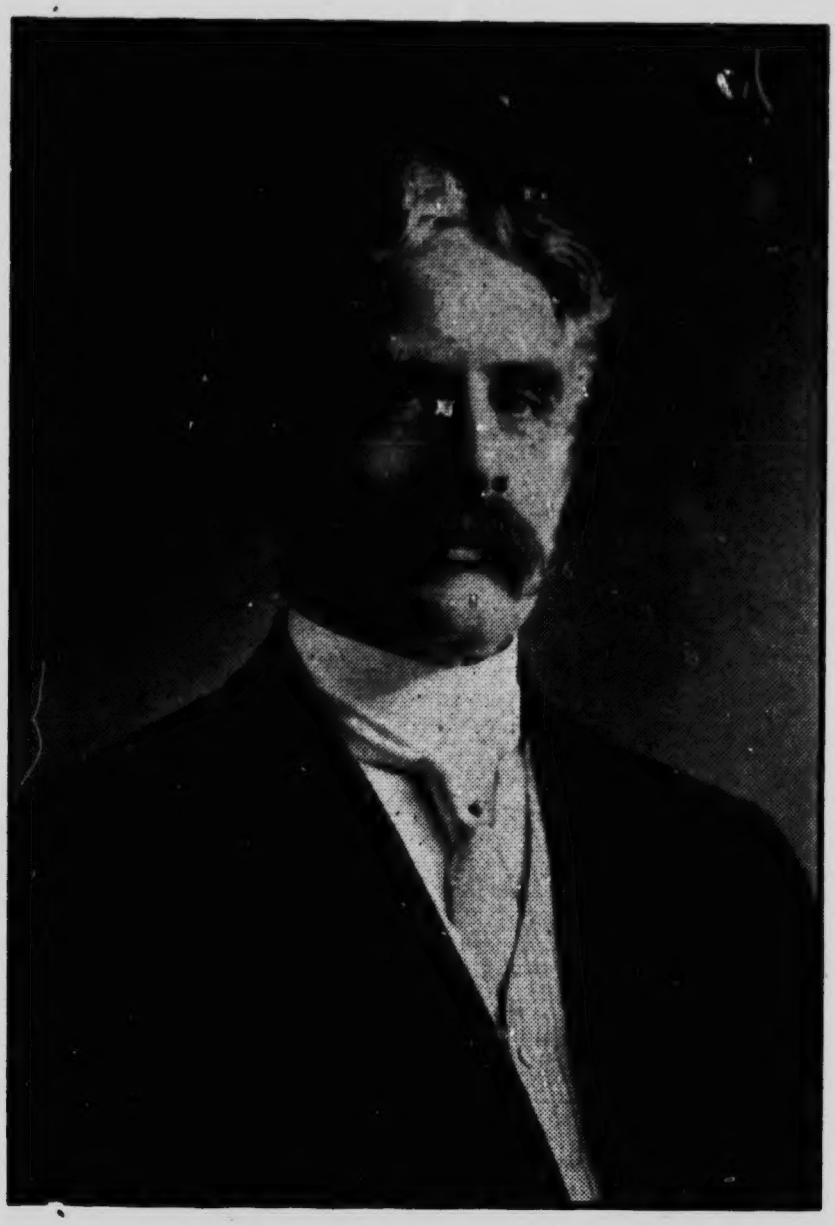
Co-operation, not of Contribution

"Through men not directly responsible to the electorate of Canada our proposals have been defeated for the moment and an increased burden has, for the present, been imposed and accepted beyond the seas. We have every confidence that this defeat is but temporary, and that the duty of Canada will yet be honorably discharged."—*From Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden's Halifax Speech*

FC 555
B6

Issued by the Federal Press Agency, Ottawa, Canada, 1913, Central Publication and Distribution Office for the Liberal-Conservative Party of Canada.

SPLENDID RECORD
OF THE
BORDEN GOVERNMENT



R. L. Baden.

SPLENDID RECORD

OF THE

BORDEN GOVERNMENT

Remarkable achievements of the Conservative Administration during the past two years.

Statesmanlike speech of the Prime Minister, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, at Halifax, Sept. 16, 1913.

Naval Policy Clearly Defined

AS ONE OF

Co-Operation, not of Contribution.

At a meeting of the Liberal-Conservative Association of Halifax, held on September 16, 1913, the Prime Minister of Canada, Rt. Hon. R. L. Borden, delivered a momentous speech, one of the finest and most statesmanlike efforts of his whole career. He ably reviewed the record of the Conservative Government during its two years of office and clearly defined the policy of the present administration concerning a number of important questions chiefly that of Naval Aid to the Empire. Mr. Borden severely denounced Sir Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party for their political vagaries and their disgracefully obstructive tactics carried out during the Session of 1911-12.

Mr. Borden upon rising to speak was given a great ovation—intense in its feeling and unbounded in its enthusiasm. His speech was as follows:

Mr. President and Gentlemen:—It is with the greatest satisfaction that I hail the opportunity of renewing my associations with you and of expressing my thanks for the support and confidence which you have accorded to the present administration. The occasion gives me also the advantage of discussing the record and policy of the Government as to which not a little misrepresentation has been spread abroad by the press opposed to us.

In recalling the events of the last two sessions one cannot fail to be impressed with the desperate character of the tactics deliberately adopted by the Opposition. Under the influence of a self-appreciation, which had become altogether excessive during their long lease of power, they laboured under the singular hallucination that the people of Canada were pining to restore them to office. Hence they hoped and strove during the first, as well as the second session, to seize some opportunity of so thwarting and embarrassing the Government that a dissolution of Parliament would be necessary.

It was confidently expected, and so announced to their friends throughout the country, that through the intervention of the Senate they would force a general election. They shaped their course upon the theory that another election might improve their position and could not injure it. In both these estimates they would, beyond question, have been grievously disappointed. We took the position that the Government would not be forced. The constitutional authority to determine the date of a general election is the Governor-General, acting upon the advice of his

responsible ministers, and the Opposition found us prepared to meet them upon this ground and to fight the battle to a finish.

Eventually obstructive tactics were carried to such an unparalleled length as to make it necessary, if the government of this country was to be carried on by parliamentary methods, that the obsolete rules of the House of Commons should be so modified that public business could be transacted with reasonable dispatch, and that the country might no longer be scandalized by the discreditable scenes which were being enacted at Ottawa. Not only Conservatives, but Liberals have expressed to me the opinion that we were more than justified in the course which we took. The only criticism to which we are fairly subject is found in the comment often made to me, that we delayed too long, and permitted our opponents to go too far before we undertook a much-needed reform in parliamentary procedure. The result is hailed with satisfaction throughout the country, which is impressed with a growing conviction that **it would be well for Parliament to work and think more and talk less.**

THE BILL TO MAKE POSSIBLE IMPROVEMENT OF OUR HIGHWAYS.

Coming then to the record of the recent session let me direct your attention to our proposals for improving the highways of the country. For that purpose Mr. Cochrane introduced in each session a bill which simply empowered the Minister of Railways, with the authority of the Governor-in-Council, to enter into an agreement with each province for the expenditure of a certain sum appropriated to that province by the estimates in each year. The sums so appropriated were to be expended by the provincial governments, but only for the purpose of constructing new highways or improving existing highways, and it

was our duty to provide proper safeguards for that purpose by an appropriate agreement. One clause in the bill contained a provision that with the consent of the Provincial Government, and with the authority of the Provincial Legislature, any portion of the money so appropriated might be expended by the Federal Government. There was the most complete safeguard of provincial rights and of provincial autonomy. Not one dollar could be expended without the consent of the Provincial Government and the authority of the Provincial Legislature.

The expenditure which we proposed under this bill in 1911-12 was one million dollars, and in 1912-13 a million and a half, or a total of two and a half million dollars during the two years.

The estimates brought down allocated the sums to each of the provinces in exact proportion to its population. Thus, taking the total amount of the votes for the two years, you will observe that

Nova Scotia would have received	$171,447
New Brunswick	122,544
Prince Edward Island	32,644
Quebec	697,414
Ontario	878,668
Manitoba	158,656
Saskatchewan	171,482
Alberta	130,472
British Columbia	136,675

DEFEAT OF THE BILL BY LEADERS OF MINORITY IN COMMONS.

We have hardly begun to realize the importance of good roads in Canada or to grasp thoroughly the truth that they are a necessary and vital link in any scheme of transportation. In some cases the cost to the farmer or other producer of transporting his products to the railway station is considerably greater than the freight thence by rail to the nearest available market. The amount of loss and waste through bad and inferior roads in this country is almost incalculable.

The late Government never lifted a finger to remedy this condition. Not one dollar of their boasted surpluses was ever devoted to this all-important purpose.

One would not suppose, however, that they would undertake to burk or destroy a measure so obviously in the interest of the whole people. Therefore, we might confidently have expected the cordial support of the Opposition. But, to the astonishment of the country and to the dismay of many of his friends, Sir Wilfrid Laurier attacked our bill on the second reading by a motion which, if carried, would have removed it from the order paper. He and his friends opposed the bill with great vigor, and everyone of them voted against it upon the third reading.

Through his control of a partizan majority in the Senate, the leader of the minority in the Commons was able to secure the defeat of the bill by the insertion of amendments which he knew we could not accept.

Exulting in the fact that although defeated by the people he could nevertheless defeat them and their elected representatives

through his appointed partizans in the upper chamber, he took full responsibility for destroying our efforts to improve the public highways of Canada.

The people in due course will pronounce their judgment upon his action.

He may urge that the three and a half million words which he and his followers poured out upon a long suffering country during the recent session are ample compensation for the loss of two and a half million dollars which otherwise would have been expended in the improvement of your roads. If this oratorical compensation should be regarded as satisfactory, the people may rejoice in the assurance that the supply is certainly abundant and apparently inexhaustible.

THE SAME UNREASONING PARTIZANSHIP REGARDING THE BRANCH RAILWAYS.

Still more extraordinary was the conduct of the Opposition in respect of the branch railways bill, which was designed to confer authority upon the Minister of Railways to undertake the acquisition of branch lines in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces, which would be of advantage to the Intercolonial Railway. When the bill was in committee I submitted a proposed amendment to Mr. Graham and Mr. Emmerson, both ex-ministers of railways, Mr. Pugsley, Mr. Lemieux and other leading members of the Opposition. They told me that it was entirely acceptable and removed all their objections. The bill was accordingly passed unanimously and went to the Senate. The Liberal majority in the Senate emasculated it by striking out and amending its most important provisions, so that as returned to the House of Commons the bill was absolutely useless and in-

operative. When the Senate amendments came under discussion Sir Wilfrid Laurier, to the astonishment of everyone, warmly defended the Senate's action and declared himself entirely opposed to the very provisions which had been unanimously agreed to and approved by all his followers. The Senate adhered to their destructive amendments, and the bill failed to pass, the result once more indicating **the extraordinary confusion and division of opinion which prevails in the councils of the Opposition.**

THE VITAL IMPORTANCE OF AGRICULTURAL EDUCATION.

In line with the proposal for improving the highways of the country was the bill introduced by Mr. Burrell, the Minister of Agriculture, providing grants extending over a period of ten years and aggregating in all ten million dollars for assisting and extending agricultural instruction in the various provinces. Little thought or consideration seems to have been given by the late Government to any such step. Every progressive country in the world is devoting its energies to improving its methods of agriculture, and it is beyond question that remarkable results have been attained through well-directed efforts for this purpose by means of practical instruction and demonstration. Not only through instruction at colleges and training schools, but by actual demonstration on the farm or in the orch those who are engaged in this fundamental industry can be effectively assisted. Wonderful and abundant as are the opportunities in the great western provinces of this Dominion, I am confident that equal opportunities can be afforded in the eastern provinces if advanced and improved methods of culture are taught, comprehended and employed. In many countries, including even this Dominion with all its marvellous heritage of fertile lands, the tendency of population is towards the cities and towns.

To offset this, our best efforts should be devoted to the improvement of highways and their proper maintenance, to the adoption of the most efficient and modern methods of agriculture, and generally to the establishment of such conditions in rural communities as will afford to the people every convenience and advantage of modern civilization so far as may be reasonably possible.

Mr. Burrell's measure is of the highest importance, not only to those who are engaged in agriculture, but to the whole national life of the country, and it is most satisfactory to note that it has been received with warm approval and commendation on all hands.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL PORTS OF CANADA.

We all agree that no subject is of greater importance to this Dominion than the efficient equipment and development of our great national ports. The increasing production and requirements of the Dominion and the opportunities afforded not only upon the Atlantic and the Pacific, but on our great inland seas for a great and expanding flow of commerce, are sufficient evidence that **moneys expended for such purposes are wisely appropriated.** In these Maritime Provinces we have hitherto lacked something of the progress and development which have been so marked in other portions of the Dominion. There is strong ground for the conclusion that these provinces are now about to enter, and, indeed, have already entered upon a period of development which is justly their due. For many years this

port has suffered from lack of adequate terminal facilities. The splendid terminals which have just been commenced, and the construction of which will be advanced with every possible expedition, cannot fail to be attended with marked advantage not only to this city and province, but to the whole Dominion. They will give you the opportunity of availing yourselves of the advantages afforded by this magnificent harbour and by the great national highway which under the energetic management of Mr. Cochrane will afford unrivalled railway facilities to Quebec and the Maritime Provinces.

> With a vast supply of raw material such as coal and iron, which this province happily possesses, and which can be utilized for the upbuilding of many varied industries, with wonderful opportunities for developing a great fishing industry, with the possibilities of our fruit and dairying industries, and with other resources and opportunities equally valuable and important, our people should be inspired with every hope and confidence for the future.

Not only in Halifax but at St. John, Quebec, Montreal, Vancouver and Victoria, **the Government have given evidence of their intention to equip thoroughly and adequately the great trade portals of Canada, and thus to place our country in a position to compete effectively and successfully for its legitimate share of the world's trade.** At Toronto, Hamilton, Port Arthur, Fort William, and many other ports on the Great Lakes large sums are also being expended by the Department of Public Works for necessary harbour development.

THE PARCELS POST SYSTEM AND REVISION OF THE BANK ACT.

May I also call attention to the action of the Postmaster-General at the last session in securing the necessary statutory authority for the establishment of a parcels post system. Such a system has already been successfully inaugurated in the United States, and its development there has been of greater advantage than was anticipated at the outset. As our population is relatively much smaller in proportion to our territory than that of the United States, the undertaking naturally presents greater difficulties in Canada. The officers of the department are engaged in the consummation of necessary arrangements, and it is believed that these will be completed early in the coming year.

During the recent session the Bank Act underwent revision upon the decennial renewal of the bank charters. The Minister of Finance had the bill referred to a committee and gave every opportunity for consideration and discussion. Under his supervision the act was improved in many important respects. Provisions were enacted to prevent fraud such as was perpetrated in the case of the Farmers' Bank, an independent shareholders' audit was made compulsory, provision was made for loans to farmers on security of their grain products and more thorough returns as to interest and discount rates were made compulsory. These marked and manifest improvements, with many others, greatly strengthened the efficiency and usefulness of our Bank Act, which has been described by J. B. Forgan, president of the First National Bank of Chicago, as **much superior to that of the United States.**

THE TRADE ARRANGEMENT EFFECTED WITH THE WEST INDIES.

As you are aware, the important trade agreement made last year with the British West Indies has been ratified by Parliament and by the various West Indian legislatures. A temporary difficulty arose in providing an improved steamship service.

This difficulty, however, has at last been surmounted, and Mr. Foster expects shortly to consummate a contract with the Royal Mail Packet Company, one of the most extensive and progressive steamship lines in the world, for a modern up-to-date service between the Maritime Provinces and various ports in the British West Indies.

There is every reason to anticipate that the new trade agreement coupled with improved facilities of transportation and communication will strongly tend to develop a profitable and increasing trade between the Dominion and the West Indian Islands. It is manifest that our flour, fish, vegetables and manufactures can be exchanged with great advantage for their sugar, tropical fruits and other similar products.

In other administrative matters the Government have pursued an equally progressive and vigorous policy. Work on the National Transcontinental Railway has been pushed with vigor. The construction of the Hudson Bay Railway is so far advanced that one hundred and fifty miles have been graded and one-half of the work will be finished early in 1914. The whole road will be completed in 1915. The work upon the Quebec bridge is proceeding with expedition and thoroughness, and the contracts have been awarded for two of the three

sections of the Welland ship canal. The other sections will be awarded within a few weeks. A considerable appropriation has also been made for the improvement and development of the French River.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF TERMINAL ELEVATORS FOR OUR GRAIN.

In fulfilment of its pledges to establish terminal elevators the Government have now under construction an elevator of 2,500,000 bushels capacity at Port Arthur. Mr. Foster informs me that this elevator will be ready for operation not later than the first of October. Tenders have been called and contracts awarded for two large interior elevators, one at Moose Jaw and one at Saskatoon, and their construction will be pushed forward with every expedition. The construction of another interior terminal elevator and of transfer elevators on the Pacific and at Hudson Bay is now under consideration.

REDUCTION OF CABLE RATES AND CONSIDERATION FOR VETERANS OF '66 AND '70.

The reduction of cable rates to the British Islands through the efforts of Mr. Pelletier, the inauguration of a greatly improved mail service between Canada and Great Britain, tri-weekly in summer and semi-weekly in winter instead of the old weekly service, the reduction of cable rates to the British West Indies and the new arrangement secured by Mr. Hazen with regard to marine insurance rates to the St. Lawrence and the reduction of the insurance rates to this port, also **illustrate the efficiency which has attended the administration of public affairs during the past two years.** A magnificent dry dock is under construction at Quebec, and the Minister of Public Works has in hand the arrangements which are being consummated for similar docks at Halifax, and on the Pacific coast.

All this is wise and useful expenditure without which Canada cannot attain or hold its rightful place among the nations.

As you are aware, Colonel Hughes introduced and passed last year an act to render justice to those who had taken arms in defence of their co· ıtry in 1866 and 1870. In this province representations have been made that the consideration of the applications filed should be expedited more rapidly. With his customary promptness and energy the minister has given attention to this request, and boards are being constituted in each county for the purpose.

From time to time during the session the question of reciprocity was touched upon. At the commencement the Leader of the Opposition declined to make any statement of his views and apparently preferred to remain within the lines of "Torres Vedras," as on many previous occasions. Eventually, however, his hands were forced by the utterances of leading men on his own side and finally he was constrained to admit that notwithstanding recent developments **the white plume of the reciprocity compact still waves in the breeze as the rallying flag of his party.**

DELIBERATE AND DEFIANT OBSTRUCTION OF AID TO THE IMPERIAL NAVY.

Through the perverse and unworthy attitude of the Opposition a large part of the recent session was wasted in deliberate and defiant obstruction of the Naval Aid Bill. Sir Wilfrid Laurier takes occasion from time to time to criticize the conduct and policy of those whom he calls Nationalists. **I invite Sir Wilfrid to name one article of the Nationalist policy which he himself has not advocated and maintained.** His diatribes,

therefore, are directed against that which he himself taught and which seems to express his real conviction as shown by his conduct during the past twenty-five years. **From his accession to power in 1896 until 1909, Sir Wilfrid Laurier absolutely and obstinately refused to permit any co-operation whatever by Canada in the common defence of our commerce and our coasts and our interests upon the high seas.** His conduct was thoroughly consistent with the policy which he had announced in 1891 and 1892, and which **favoured and foreshadowed the independence of Canada. She was to sever her connection with the Empire as a ripe apple falls from the tree.** In the meantime there would be a certain advantage in British connection, and in the protection of the British flag and of the British fleet; but **not a dollar was to be paid and not a finger lifted for our common defence.**

In 1909 public opinion became aroused and the history of Mr. Foster's resolution is of common knowledge. Sir Wilfrid Laurier moved an amendment committing the country to the establishment of a Canadian naval service in co-operation with and in close relation to the Imperial navy along the lines suggested by the Admiralty at the last Imperial conference, which made it a first condition that the naval forces of the whole Empire should be under one command and that the distribution of ships in the best manner to resist attack and to defend the Empire at large, whether it be the British Isles or the Dominions beyond the seas, **should be under one control.**

LAURIER'S PROPOSAL FOR CANADIAN NEUTRALITY IN TIME OF WAR.

The Naval Service Act of 1910 embodied provisions which contemplated the separation of Canadian naval forces from

those of the Empire and their neutrality in time of war. **Sir Wilfrid Laurier distinctly admitted this.** Such neutrality would be impracticable except as the first and final act of separation. **Canada cannot remain within the Empire and be neutral while the rest of the Empire is fighting for its existence.** Such a proposal is not less impossible than humiliating.

We voiced our objections to the measure and made them known to the country, but when the bill, comprising thirty-four sections, went into the committee it was passed in one day and became law without any effort on our part to obstruct it. We had made our protest and the Government were responsible.

THE TWO-FOLD PLEDGE GIVEN BY THE CONSERVATIVES.

Our pledges upon the question were two-fold. First, that we would seek from the British Government and from the Admiralty exact knowledge of the conditions confronting the Empire and that we would propose immediate and effective aid if those conditions justified it. Second, that upon any permanent policy touching so vital a question the people should be consulted. **Those pledges have been fulfilled in the letter and in the spirit.** We went to England; we consulted the British Government, we placed before the country the statement of the Admiralty and we submitted to Parliament the proposals for temporary and immediate aid which in our judgment was justified by the need.

We asked that thirty-five million dollars should be appropriated for the purpose of immediately increasing the effective naval forces of the Empire, that this sum should be devoted to the construction of battleships or armoured cruisers of the most modern and powerful type and that these ships when constructed

and equipped should be placed by the Governor-in-Council at the disposal of His Majesty for the common defence of the Empire. **The ownership of the ships was to remain in Canada,** and by arrangement with the admiralty the ships were subject to recall upon reasonable notice whenever required for the purpose of any distinctive naval force established by this country.

OUR POLICY ONE OF CO-OPERATION, NOT OF CONTRIBUTION.

Liberal orators and the Liberal press continually prattle of a contribution. The facts which I have stated clearly show that our proposals did not embody either the principle of contribution or a permanent policy. The ships were to be owned by Canada and were subject to recall by Canada whenever desired. Sir Wilfrid Laurier, whose lead in this respect is followed by his supporters and by his press, argues, first, that our proposals do not embody a permanent policy and therefore settle nothing; and that a permanent policy should be brought down. In the next breath he and his followers contend that our proposals embody a permanent policy of contribution and should, therefore, be rejected. Both these arguments cannot be well founded. On which do they really rely? **Our answer is simple and direct; our policy is not a policy of contribution, but of co-operation under such conditions that Canada's control of the three ships is absolutely unfettered. Our next answer is that the people of Canada have a right to be consulted upon the great question of permanent policy and that we propose to consult them.**

Let me make one point clear. Canada, leading in that respect the other dominions of the Empire, established three-quarters of a century ago that principle of self-government which has since developed into the complete control of our own affairs

that today we enjoy. In one respect only, have we failed to attain the full status of nationhood. This was clearly pointed out by Edward Blake in 1874 in these words:—

> "Our Government should not present this anomaly it now presents—a government the freest, perhaps the most democratic in the world with respect to domestic and local matters, in which you rule yourselves as fully as any nation in the world, while in foreign affairs, your relations with other countries, whether peaceful or warlike, commercial, financial or otherwise, you may have no more voice than the people of Japan."

SIR WILFRID LAURIER'S CONCEPTION AND THAT OF EDWARD BLAKE.

There are two conceptions which it is proper that the people of Canada should consider. One is the conception of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who, in 1911, definitely declared in the Imperial Conference that he desired Canada to have no voice or influence whatever in the foreign policy or the foreign relations of the Empire. The other is the conception of Edward Blake that such a condition is an anomaly which ought to be corrected and which must be corrected if the Empire is to be maintained.

The Imperial defence committee organized some twelve years ago has developed into one of the most remarkable governing bodies known to modern times. Primarily it consists of the prime minister of Great Britain and of such persons as he may

summon to be its members. As it is concerned with defence the first lord of the admiralty and the secretary for war are necessarily members. The cost of defence must always be taken into consideration and therefore the chancellor of the exchequer is necessarily present. As foreign policy and naval defence are closely and intimately related, the secretary of state for foreign affairs must be a member. The defence of the Dominions is continually being considered and thus the colonial secretary is always summoned. Thus the committee comprises the chief members of the cabinet, and its conclusions are practically without exception accepted by the cabinet as a whole. A well-known constitutional authority recently set forth its status and function in these words:—

> "This committee has already become the supreme advisory board on naval and military and foreign policy for all the cabinets and parliaments of the Empire."

It is the conclusion of those who have most closely studied the subject that for the present the necessary consultation and co-operation between the governments of the dominions and the government of the mother country in respect of Imperial defence and foreign policy can most effectively and securely be found through the medium of this committee. Already ministers from the various dominions have been summoned to its meetings. Five Canadian ministers were present at one meeting in 1912 and two Canadian ministers were summoned during the present year. No one would pretend that the presence of a Canadian minister in London to attend the meetings of this committee and to consult with the British prime minister and foreign secretary upon matters of foreign policy would embody final solution of

the great problem that confronts us. **But the genius of our race is to proceed in such matters slowly and cautiously and to depend for results rather upon experiment and experience than upon logic.**

CANADA NOT AN ADJUNCT, BUT A VITAL PART OF THE EMPIRE.

As I took occasion to say last year in England—**Canada will not be an "adjunct" even of the British Empire;** but we have no desire to force the pace unduly—we know that we must creep before we walk. Those whom these questions concern must always reckon with an inborn feeling in the Canadian breast that a British subject living in this Dominion must ultimately have as potent a voice in the government and guidance of this world-wide Empire as a British subject living in the United Kingdom. **Whether our home is in the British Islands or in Canada we must be equals before the King.** The full privileges as well as the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship are the right of the Canadian people.

I have spoken of the moderate and reasonable proposals which we submitted to Parliament as a temporary measure to meet the present needs of our defence as part of this Empire. How were our proposals met? In 1910 Sir Wilfrid Laurier declined to supply even one fleet unit. In 1912 he affirmed that two were necessary and that they should be supplied at once. And yet he avers that in 1909 he knew everything disclosed in the admiralty memorandum of 1912. **If two fleet units were necessary in 1910, why then did he refuse one and why did he accomplish nothing?** Australia and New Zealand had at least done something, but the limit of the Laurier achievements was to call for tenders, and his ships would have been obsolete before their construction was completed.

I have spoken of the divided councils of the Opposition. Not only did they differ from each other, but **each specifically contradicted himself by voice and vote.**

On the 13th February they voted that $35,000,000 should be appropriated in a lump sum for immediately increasing the naval forces of the Empire.

On the 15th May they voted that this sum should not be appropriated in a lump sum, but by a yearly vote.

On the 13th February they voted that Canada should enter actively upon a permanent policy of naval defence without further delay and that the country should be at once committed to an ultimate expenditure of at least one hundred and fifty millions. In the same evening and within an hour they voted that nothing in the way of naval defence should be undertaken until after a general election.

On the 13th February they voted that measures should be taken during that session to carry out the Naval Service Act of 1910.

On the 27th February they voted that nothing in the way of naval defence should be begun or carried out until after a redistribution bill had been passed and an election held.

In this conglomeration of inconsistencies it is difficult to find any real policy unless it be **to defeat any effective co-operation in the defence of our commerce and the protection of our interests.** But a variety of policies enables their author to use such appropriate emphasis or reticence with regard to any special features as may seem most acceptable to each audience that he addresses. Thus no one has been able to

observe that Sir Wilfrid emphasized at St. Hyacinthe his proposed expenditure of one hundred and fifty millions upon two fleet units during the next ten years.

THE SHIP-BUILDING INDUSTRY OF CANADA TO BE DEVELOPED.

The present Government is most anxious for the encouragement and development of the ship-building industry in Canada. When, however, the Opposition contend that this industry can best be assisted and stimulated by undertaking the construction of battleships of twenty-five or thirty thousand tons, costing from twelve to fifteen million dollars each, there are some considerations to be taken into account. The plant necessary for the construction of such battleships, including armament, machinery, armour plate, etc., would cost about seventy-five million dollars and would only be useful in case Canada proposes to embark upon the tremendous programme of building every year at least two of these great engines of destruction. Any such programme would be at once unnecessary, absurd and oppressive. **Ship-building in Canada, as elsewhere, must start from small beginnings and be developed in a businesslike way. We had arranged with the Admiralty that they would place in this country orders for smaller craft such as could be built in Canada without any such enormous and excessive initial expenditure in plant and machinery, and undoubtedly this proposal would have had splendid results.**

OUR SHIPS PART OF A MIGHTY FLYING SQUADRON.

The admiralty memorandum had exposed a grave necessity for concentrating in the immediate vicinity of the British Islands

nearly the entire naval forces of the Empire. Not only the Atlantic and the Pacific, but even the vital highway of the Mediterranean were left practically unguarded. **Our three ships were to form part of a great imperial flying squadron, of unequalled power and mobility and so stationed that it could dominate the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and be within reasonable call of our coasts on the Pacific.** The Government proposals passed the Commons by a large majority. The leader of the Opposition, through his appointed partizans in the Senate, defeated them, and in so doing took a responsibility from which any loyal and patriotic citizen of Canada and of the Empire might well have shrunk.

Let me invite your attention to the following significant passage in the admiralty memorandum:—

> **"The aid which Canada could give at the present time is not to be measured only in ships or money. Any action on the part of Canada to increase the power and mobility of the imperial navy and thus widen the margin of our common safety would be recognized everywhere as a most significant witness to the united strength of the Empire, and to the renewed resolve of the overseas dominions to take their part in maintaining its integrity."**

The proposals which we laid before parliament were so recognized and they produced a profound impression throughout the world as indicating that for purposes of defence and the maintenance of the Empire's integrity the mother country and

the dominions were one. The significance of Canada's proposed action lay not in the mere fighting power of the three dreadnoughts. **When our proposals were announced there dawned for the first time upon the world the light of a new aspect of the British Empire.** Then first the chancellories of the world saw that the strength of the Empire's defence lay not in the British Islands alone, but in the daughter nations which had already begun to realize their strength and to " feel the thews of Anakim, the pulses of a giant's heart."

WHAT THE WORLD THOUGHT OF LAURIER'S NAVAL VAGARIES.

What impression did Sir Wilfrid Laurier succeed in producing by means of his appointed partizans of the Senate? The nations were quick to seize the apparent significance of his act. Let one quotation from a great foreign newspaper suffice, although many such could be quoted:—

> " Whatever may be decided upon later, the actual decision of the Canadian Senate means at any rate a heavy moral and material loss for the defence of the Empire, for Mr. Borden's promise had been foolishly enough counted on. His offer made an enormous impression on the whole world. Mr. Churchill pointed out this fact especially in the well-known memorandum of the admiralty. This impression will now not only be destroyed, but people will everywhere obtain the conviction that England cannot

> depend upon such help from her colonies. 'By rivals and enemies,' says the Morning Post to-day, 'the decision will be eagerly welcomed. By friends it will be regarded as ominous.' The impression must inevitably be created that the solidarity of the Empire is a myth and that those powers which would like to see the overthrow of British naval supremacy need not be discouraged in their efforts by the thought that their challenge would be met by the united resources of the mother country and of everyone of the daughter states."

Not even in his celebrated Boston speech of 1891 did Sir Wilfrid Laurier make a stronger attack upon British connection and upon the integrity of the Empire than by dictating to his appointees in the Senate the course which many of them weakly followed against their conviction and against their better judgment.

> **In deploring, as we all deplore, the necessity of armaments, we should always be mindful of two considerations. First, that this Empire cannot control and therefore must be prepared to meet the armaments of other nations. Second, that the free pathway across the seas is the first condition of the Empire's existence.**

THE SENATE'S OBEDIENCE TO LIBERAL MANDATE IS BUT TEMPORARY.

Through men not directly responsible to the electorate of Canada our proposals have been defeated for the moment and an increased burden has, for the present, been imposed and accepted beyond the seas. **We have every confidence that this defeat is but temporary, and that the duty of Canada will yet be honourably discharged.**

The highest future for this Dominion lies within this Empire, upon conditions of equal status such as I have indicated. **But the unity of the Empire cannot be maintained if its greatest Dominion adopts the policy of scampering under the cover of neutrality in time of danger or trouble.** In days gone by men not only in Canada, but in the British Islands, have suggested, nay, even proposed, the Empire's dissolution. Nevertheless, its flag streams in undiminished splendour upon the breezes of the twentieth century and, mindful of its power for peace and its influence for civilization and humanity, we do not dare to doubt its greater destiny in the years to come.